

A REPORT AND REFLECTIONS

ON A VISIT TO SCOTLAND

BY MEMBERS OF THE

LABRADOR INUIT ASSOCIATION

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## Introduction

Earlier this year, the Labrador Inuit Association organized a visit to Scotland of a small delegation from the Labrador Coast.

Oil and Gas have been discovered in large quantities under the North Sea during the past twenty years and these reserves are being exploited by a number of European countries. Great Britain, of which Scotland is a part, expects to benefit very greatly from its North Sea oil fields.

Although Great Britain as a whole may well benefit from these discoveries, it is not so certain that those parts of Scotland where the oil will be brought ashore will have reason to be grateful for the developments.

There is a group of Islands known as Shetland off the north coast of Scotland. Largely because Shetland is the closest land to the major British North Sea oilfields, and because undersea pipelines for carrying crude oil from the offshore wells to a central terminal on land are massively expensive to build, Shetland was marked for oil-related development very early in the history of North Sea oil.

Through their local government agencies and other organizations, the people of Shetland have acquired a large measure of control over oil-related developments on their islands. It was this that the Labrador delegation went to find out about since there may be valuable lessons to be learned and applied to the Labrador situation.

## Oil and Gas (Hydrocarbons)

It may be helpful to say a few things in this report about oil and gas in general terms.

Modern world society is almost totally dependent on oil and gas. Collectively, oil and gas are referred to as Hydrocarbons. I will use this term since it is a common one and is likely to be heard a great deal in the next few years by people reading this report.

Hydrocarbons are so important that a country which can produce its own, rather than having to buy from other countries, has a very great advantage. Canada is a country which is rich in this respect, although we are not so rich as some countries. Most people probably realize that it is for this reason that the Arab countries of North Africa and the Middle East are so powerful. Similarly, most European countries, because they have so little oil of their own, are weak and at the mercy of the great oil producing states. These rich oil-producing states have organized the way in which they sell oil and, because they control the market, demand increasingly high prices for their oil.

A typical European country which depends entirely on imported oil and has no choice but to pay whatever they are told, has to pass the cost on to the consumer. Thus, in such countries, a gallon of gasoline can cost twice and three times what it costs us here in Canada where we produce our own oil (the Canadian situation is a little more complicated than this but, for the sake of this discussion it is fair to say we are not dependent on foreign oil.





Hydrocarbons are not renewable resources which means that once they are taken out of the ground in a certain area, it becomes necessary to discover new reserves elsewhere. Many people consider that the countries of the world, especially the rich, technologically complex countries, are consuming oil at an alarming and dangerous rate.

Once we realize that oil is scarce, essential to everyone in the world, and that the supply is controlled by a very few countries, it becomes easier to understand the tremendous sense of urgency with which governments and oil companies are seeking new reserves even in those parts of the world where it is difficult, expensive and sometimes dangerous to operate wells.

The North Sea is a very difficult area to operate in although not as difficult as the Labrador Sea is likely to prove. Nevertheless, governments and oil companies are prepared to spend vast sums of money and take some quite frightening risks in order to get at the precious oil.

There is, perhaps, in the conventional wisdom, no greater resource in the modern world than oil. Thus Newfoundland is understandably very anxious to develop its offshore oil reserves even, perhaps, at great cost to some of the people in the Province. Oil could make Newfoundland rich.

Whether or not oil will benefit the traditional peoples of the Labrador Coast is another question and the answer will have to be found by Labradorians while there is still time.

### The Shetland Islands

Shetland is a group of over one hundred islands and skerries in the same general latitude as the far north of Labrador and about two and a half thousand miles east of it. The climate is completely different, however: it is mild but windswept and there are scarcely any trees. There is rarely any snow and never any sea ice. The people have lived for many generations by fishing, keeping sheep and cattle and manufacturing knitted goods and crafts. Shetlanders are a seafaring people and many have come to the north of Canada and to Newfoundland. Shetlanders have a deep love for their islands and a sense of satisfaction with their way of life. There is a Shetland dialect of English for which the older people in particular have a great affection.

Shetland is very isolated by British standards and, until recently, was quite difficult to reach by air. Roads, water and sewage and other amenities such as hotels are scarce and primitive by British standards.

A fishing and farming economy is subject to good times and bad, something Labradorians will understand readily. Shetland in the 1960's, prior to the realization that oil was to become part of its life, enjoyed a period of prosperity in its traditional industries for the first time since the War. Prior to the 1960's, times were hard and many people left to make their living elsewhere. (We were told that since the oil boom about 1500 Shetlanders have come home).

The main local government agency in Shetland is the Shetland Islands Council. The responsibilities of the Council include housing, roads, water and sewage, planning, and education up to





the end of high school. The Council may levy taxes in various ways but is subsidized, as are all local governments in Britain, by the Central Government in London.

Lerwick is the main town in Shetland and it is an important fishing harbour, used by many foreign vessels. The harbour is managed entirely by a local agency known as the Lerwick Harbour Trust.

Both the Shetland Islands Council and the Lerwick Harbour Trust played important parts in dealing with the Central Government and the Oil Companies. This will be discussed at greater length in the report.

Virtually all land in the Shetland Islands is privately owned. This is in very great contrast to Labrador where, as far as the Government is concerned, virtually no land, with the possible exception of the Moravian grants in the North and certain areas in the communities, is privately owned. I think that this difference is very important as I hope to make clear later in the report.

First, however, I will outline the reasons for which the Oil Companies considered it necessary to establish a major presence in Shetland.

#### Why Shetland is important to the Oil Companies

As I mentioned earlier, pipelines are so expensive to build that it is necessary to make them as short as possible. The map accompanying this report shows the pipelines which are to be built and the distances they cover.

The cost of the undersea pipelines works out to about \$1,000,000 a mile. Given the location of the oil wells, it becomes obvious that Shetland and, further to the south, Orkney were the natural places to make pipeline landfall.

In addition to the cost of pipelines, an absolute requirement for an oil terminal is a deep, safe harbour in which the super oil tankers, which may soon include vessels of up to 1,000,000 tons dead weight, can take the crude oil on board and ship it away.

Shetland provides such a harbour in Sullom Voe, which has been decided upon as the site of the oil terminal. A Voe in Shetland is what would be called a fiord here.

It is possible that Shetlanders as a whole, had they been asked whether or not they wanted a major oil terminal, would have said no. It was made clear to us when we visited Shetland however, that Shetlanders never really had a choice. The determination of Central Government was such that Shetland would have been compelled to accept oil as part of its future. In this country, much the same is happening all over the North. Local people would probably prefer to be left untouched by the oil companies. The governments consider that the needs of the country as a whole (what they call the "National Interest") are more important than local rights and aspirations. It is an ugly but unavoidable fact of our lives.







What is to be done in Shetland and the size of the workforce involved

The oil business is like another world to most people. The exploration for and production of oil require huge amounts of money and hundreds of skills. It is a risky business. Millions of dollars are spent searching for hydrocarbons where there are none to be found. It is hard for ordinary people to know what is going on because many companies are involved and each company is naturally going to be as secretive as it can be. Even Governments frequently complain that they do not know enough about what is happening. The successful oil companies are very rich and very powerful, more so than many governments. The Shetland councillors told us that they are very hard men to deal with; they also had considerable respect for their ability. They do not give anything away for nothing. Their business is to find oil, produce it and make a profit selling it. From their point of view it makes good sense to do whatever they can to make everything else serve these interests.

We can divide the process as it is affecting Shetland into three phases - exploration, construction and production. Each of these stages makes demands on the community and its resources.

During the Exploration phase supply bases are needed for the drilling ships and their crews. This involves the use of harbour facilities and airport facilities, a great deal of coming and going and consequently a demand on available accommodation and services. In the case of Shetland it was clear that the existing harbour and air facilities were inadequate to meet the oil companies' demands.

Once it is established to the satisfaction of an oil company that oil or gas is available in sufficient quantities for the company to produce it at a profit, the decision to begin production can be taken.

Shetland is to be used simply as a terminal area. That is to say, the crude oil will be brought into Shetland by undersea pipelines to a central terminal, where it will be stored in huge tanks and shipped to all parts of the world by super-tankers. The crude oil will not be refined in Shetland into products such as gasoline. Therefore the atmospheric pollution associated with the refining of oil will not be of immediate concern to the Council.

The construction of an oil terminal, deep water port and pipelines must be completed before the oil can start moving at full capacity. It is difficult to describe just how huge a construction project this is in the context of a relatively small community like Shetland.

This stage of the process requires a very large immigrant labour force and in the case of Shetland, a special village with all amenities is being built for this labour force. It is still not certain how large this construction force will be but some estimates make it 1000 men for a period of up to five years - until the oil terminal is completely built. The size of such a temporary workforce is perhaps easier to imagine if we work out what the equivalent number might be in the case of a community such as Nain or Cartwright. Shetland has a population of approximately 18,000 in several communities. 1000 "incomers", as "outsiders" are called in Shetland, is about a 6% increase.





If Nain and Cartwright are close to 1000 population, an equivalent increase in either place would be 60 adult men, virtually all from outside.

Apart from the temporary workforce which will be drawn almost entirely from outside of Shetland, there will be a permanent "incomer" workforce which some estimates put as high as another 1000 men. The difference would be that the permanent workforce would bring their families with them - resulting in a total, permanent increase of between three and four thousand people.

Shetland intends to integrate the permanent workforce into existing communities rather than segregate them as is being done with the temporary force. The Council argues that it is against the value of hospitality to segregate a permanent workforce and that, by adding the immigrants to a number of existing communities, services for the population as a whole will be improved.

#### A summary of the implications of oil for Shetland

Before deciding what courses of action would be appropriate it was necessary for the people of Shetland to consider the likely **impact of oil** on their community. Outlined here are the kinds of impact that were expected and are being experienced now.

#### Population increase and demands on planning authorities

This has already been discussed and mention made of the kinds of increased demand on essential services. We were told that a few years ago, the construction of twenty houses was a big project in Shetland. Local Government is now planning to build a thousand houses over the next ten years. Local Government has direct responsibility for the building of these houses but not for the village being built for the construction phase.

A thousand new houses need water and sewage, electricity, telephones, etc. All of this has to be planned by local authorities. A boom of this kind will obviously be favoured by construction companies and suppliers. Indeed, many businesses prosper in such periods.

Smaller businesses can easily go broke, however, because they are unable to attract or retain labour. Local government also has difficulty in retaining labour since, because of wage controls, it cannot pay the same for labour as the industries associated with the oil boom can and will pay. Prices inevitably rise and, for those whose incomes do not change at the same rate, times become hard.

It is hard to guess at the consequences for the traditional industries of the islands, the fishery in particular, if labour is constantly being attracted by the big money in oil. This is a problem that Council is fully aware of and it intends to use the money it will get from the oil companies to protect the traditional industries.

#### Environment

The most frightening aspect of oil produced from under the sea





and transported great distances under it by pipeline and over it by tanker is the possibility that one day the well will blow out, the pipeline break or the tanker sink.

There is no doubt that the oil companies do not want any of these things to happen and there is no doubt that their technological ability is very great.

But it requires no scientist or expert to know that even the most formidable achievement of technology can go wrong or can encounter unforeseen disasters with which they are unable to cope.

It is easy to be lulled into not worrying about such things by assurances that the very best experts are doing the very best they can. Nevertheless, things go wrong more often than many think. There have been at least two blowouts in the Canadian Arctic in the last few years. Fortunately, one was a gas blow-out and the other, which happened very recently in the Beaufort Sea, produced only water. Either of these could have been oil, resulting in unprecedented environmental disaster.

Shetland itself has limited control over the transportation of oil since, apart from what happens on the islands themselves and in the sea up to one mile seaward, the responsibility for environmental protection of the sea is that of the Central Government.

In the terminal harbour itself, Sullom Voe, it is expected that there will be many small oil spills as is normal in these terminals. Apart from this - the effects of which on marine life will not be known for a long time - Shetlanders can only hope that none of the huge tankers will ever run aground and flood their beaches with crude oil.

#### Land and land speculation

As has already been noted, land in Shetland, as in most of Britain, is virtually all privately owned. Land is bought and sold constantly and no great significance is attached to this by most people. Unless I am mistaken, this is quite a strange notion to most coastal Labradorians and certainly to Inuit and Indian people.

I think some of the Labrador visitors to Scotland were quite appalled to learn that the many beautiful salmon rivers and the numerous wild deer that we saw all belong to individuals - many of them outsiders - and that one may feel by no means free to fish or hunt. These are the property of very rich people and the courts are severe with people who hunt or fish without permission.

Most people in Shetland own small pieces of land. They are crofters or small farmers and not rich. The value of land in money varies with demand, like anything else which is for sale.

Prior to the oilboom, the crofts around Sullom Voe were not especially valuable. To those whose living is made by buying and selling land it was clear, however, that this land would soon be able to command very high prices because the oil companies, with their seemingly endless supply of money, would require it all.





Thus there was a period when many crofters were about to become financially well off by selling their crofts to the land developers (as real estate speculators call themselves in Britain) who in turn would sell or rent land to the oil companies. Of course, this speculation would result in a complete upset of ordinary land values and in a great deal of control over the crucial Sullom Voe area by outside real estate interests, with the Council retaining only planning authority.

This is what the Council set out to prevent.

#### The Zetland County Council Act/Ownership and Control

The Shetland Island Councillors we met told us repeatedly that only by acquiring ownership and control had they been able to influence events and make them work in the favour of Shetlanders. That is to say, ownership over the resource which was of importance, namely land, and control over what happens on it.

Local Government bodies such as the Shetland Islands Council are controlled by laws as is anybody or any agency. The Council has certain powers and responsibilities under the legislation and it may not exceed its powers.

In order to be able to control events and developments the Shetland Island Council needed more powers than it had. It has been pointed out what powers it had before the Act, in planning, education, housing, etc.

Thus new legislation was required and the Council set out to get it.

Laws, of course, are made by Parliament. The Government in power is responsible for nearly all new laws because they command the most votes in Parliament. Thus, if a small and remote local government wants a new law made, it must work very hard to persuade the Government of the time to make it.

The process is complicated and requires a great deal of energy. It is not only necessary to persuade the Government, it is necessary to persuade people and agencies which disagree with the "Bill", as a proposed piece of legislation is called.

Shetland was successful but only because the Council succeeded first in persuading a good section of the oil industry to support their Bill. Shetland's hand was much strengthened by winning over those who could have been the most powerful objectors to the Bill. The Council also had to persuade many Shetlanders who were bitterly opposed to Council enjoying greater power, especially the compulsory purchase of land which was the chief power being sought.

The new law, called the Zetland County Council Act, was passed in 1974. It conferred upon the Council these new powers:

1. to exercise jurisdiction as port and harbour authority over Sullom Voe, including the provision of such services and facilities as are required in connection with their undertaking
2. to acquire land for oil-related development within the designated area





3. to issue licences to dredge and licences to construct works in the coastal areas outside the areas controlled by Lerwick Harbour Trust ...
4. to establish a reserve fund.

The first and second of these powers mean that the Council will own and operate the deep water tanker port, making regulations to govern its use and the protection of the environment and deriving revenue in rent and fees paid by the users.

Furthermore, the Council would direct the way in which the port would be built right from the beginning. Of course, it would be necessary to join forces in planning with the oil companies intending to use the port - but as a powerful partner, unusual for a small authority.

Prior to the Act, Council would have had relatively minor planning control and would not have been able to make their will felt as they can now by virtue of being the landowner and collector of revenue.

The second power, that compulsorily to purchase land which is needed for oil-related development was, in the early stages of legislation, the power many Shetlanders were most afraid of giving to Council. This was especially true of crofters who stood to make significant financial gains from the sale of their crofts to land developers.

The main argument the Council put forward in support of its seeking this extraordinary power was simply that, only in this way, could the community of Shetland as a whole control the oil terminal. Subsequent events would prove them right, as I hope to show.

The third power is fairly straightforward. It simply extends the power of Council over shipping coming into and leaving Lerwick Harbour (and some other areas).

The fourth power makes it possible for Council to invest the money it will derive from its various activities under the new Act. Council may act as a bank, lending and investing money, and it may set up companies and invest in others.

These powers will make it possible for the Shetland Islands Council to earn the largest share of the wealth brought about by the establishment of a huge oil terminal. In the space of a very few years Shetland Council will have been transferred from a quiet, rural authority with very modest finances into a multi-million dollar business.

It is quite easy to think, as an observer with hindsight, that it is clear that the Council was acting wisely and that the opposition to the Bill was motivated by selfish interests, but the truth would seem to be that the period of legislation was one of doubt and soul-searching for most of those involved. The compulsory purchase clause became the major issue in the 33 man Council election which was due at the height of the controversy. Several seats were lost by councillors who had supported compulsory purchase, although not enough to change the final outcome.





### Planning for development and public participation

The Shetland Islands Council, in seeking these powers, was undertaking very great new responsibilities which not everyone believed it was competent to handle. Council itself had many moments of nervousness.

Council hired a consultant firm to make a report on the planning of the oil terminal. The preparation of the Sullom Voe district plan took eight months and was followed by eight months of consideration by the community.

Mr. Ian Clarke, the Chief Executive of the Council and an important figure throughout the process, made it clear to us that he considered the preparation of the plan was just as important as the legislation.

During the eight months of public participation the plan was changed significantly as a result of people's ideas and demands.

### Negotiating with the Oil Industry

As the landlord and the local authority on all lands marked for oil development, the Council was in a very strong position to negotiate agreements with the oil industry.

Working on the principle that the oil industry should compensate Shetland for the disturbance it would make, the Council came up with the notion of "Disturbance Fees".

The agreement reached between the Council and Industry has not been made public since negotiations are not complete but it is known the agreement provides for guaranteed payments to the Council by the Industry up until the end of the century, December 31, 1999.

The payments will be more or less, depending on the number of pipelines, the amount of oil passing through Shetland and other considerations. Even if no oil ever flows, Shetland will receive over \$50 million in disturbance payments. In all likelihood several times this amount will be paid out since it is virtually certain that oil will be flowing in abundance.

It becomes clear that the creation of a reserve bank was necessary to handle this money. The ultimate use this money is to be put to is stated in the Sullom Voe District Plan:

"The most important aspect of the reserve fund is that it will provide, both during and after the oil era, the means for the County Council to take any steps which they consider to be in the long-term interests of Shetland, the Shetland economy or the Shetland Community. This would include, for example, promoting the establishment of other industries which would diversify the economy and survive the oil boom, or safeguarding the position of Shetland's indigenous industries."

### Lerwick Harbour Trust

A glance at the accompanying map will show the relative positions of Lerwick Harbour and the new oil port of Sullom Voe.





Lerwick Harbour is managed by a local trust almost a century old. The trustees include elected local representatives, rate payers in the harbour area and local shipowners. No-one makes money out of the Trust. All revenue goes back into the Trust and development of the harbour.

As noted earlier, Lerwick Harbour did not have the facilities needed to cope with the demands of the oil companies. The Trust made the major decision to expand rapidly in order to meet these demands even though this must have involved unprecedented financial decisions. In order to expand, the Trust bought up much of the harbour area that it did not already own. This was before the introduction of the Zetland Act which presumably would have allowed the Council to buy this land by compulsory purchase had the land values soared to such an extent that ordinary purchase would have been beyond the means of the Harbour Trust.

This is a private guess but I suspect the Harbour Trustees whom we met were very pleased with themselves for having done it on their own. There is no question as to whose responsibility Lerwick Harbour is.

The Trust is right to be pleased; considerable development of the harbour and its facilities is taking place and much of it is being paid for by the companies while control remains with the Trust.

The Chairman of the Trust remarked that the secret was to anticipate service needs and have the foresight to be the first to provide them.

### Shetland's Achievement

Shetland has undoubtedly entered a period of dramatic change. The changes have not been sought after by the islanders so much as been imposed on them. Their achievement has been to acquire an exceptional and unprecedented degree of control over events which they did not initiate.

Among the factors which made this possible are these:

- there was only one agency in Shetland with the responsibility of formulating policy and implementing it, the Shetland Islands Council
- this single local government body is accepted by the population as a whole as having the right to act on behalf of the population. Shetlanders are culturally united and speak the same language.
- in dealing with Parliament and with oil companies, Shetland was engaging in a process which was familiar in principle, if not in scale. Shetland understood the machinery of government even though it had never put this knowledge to work in such a grand manner
- the Council never allowed itself to be overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task they had set themselves. Occasionally, it was possible to detect a faint air of surprise among those we spoke to at the magnitude of the power and wealth they now had to administer. Some councillors spoke of the need to make sure that the money did not go to their heads - that small sums of money were to be regarded with the same respect as hitherto.





- the fact that the oil companies decided to support the Council on the legislation issue rather than the land development interests.
- the determination of the Council is surely their greatest asset. We were told that Council decided very early in the process that negotiations would be pursued in a hard, business-like manner. Thus, on principle, Shetland has never accepted any gifts from the oil industry. We were told of an offer by a section of the oil industry to provide a community centre for nothing. This offer was rejected. As one Councillor said - it might look as though you're getting it for nothing but you can bet your life that you're not.

#### The purpose of the visit from Labrador

The Labrador Inuit Association's visit was to see first-hand some of the impact that North Sea Oil has had on Scotland and, in particular, Shetland. We hoped to learn something which would be of value when it becomes Labrador's turn to feel the impact of offshore oil.

Shetland was not the only place visited. We also visited the Orkney Islands, between Shetland and the Scottish mainland, and several other places on the mainland and the Western Isle of Lewis.

Orkney is also to be the location of a major oil terminal. Virtually all oil related developments in Orkney are to be contained on a single small island, Flotta, with a small population of about one hundred.

Orkney has come to terms with oil in much the same way as Shetland, also enjoying additional powers by virtue of new legislation. In Orkney, however, the developments are not obvious in the same way they are in Shetland.

The small population on Flotta were extremely unhappy about the oil development and felt considerable bitterness towards the Orkney Islands Council. The main issue, from their point of view, was that it was unjust that they should enjoy no more compensation from the companies than the rest of the population when it was only they who would feel the direct effects.

The Council argued, on the other hand, that it would not be possible to make a formula which could fairly decide who would be compensated and who would not. The Council's principle is simply that all compensation should go to the islands as a whole. One can anticipate difficulties of this kind arising in a Labrador context. No simple solutions are apparent. Clearly, though, it will be necessary to treat such difficulties with the consideration they deserve and to let every voice be heard.

In rather general terms it may be said that the lesson to be learned from Shetland is that it is only by the people acquiring ownership of land and legal control over it that continuing control can be maintained by the people and their local governments.

#### Ownership and Control in a Labrador Context

The Labrador Coast is an enormous area with a small population which itself is of extraordinary cultural variety. Three languages, great distances and the barest communications make a united position an extremely difficult objective.





From the point of view of the native organizations, the most promising means of regaining control is to seek government recognition of aboriginal land rights. It is only on the north coast that the strongest aboriginal arguments can be made. Ways must be found for the south coast to acquire recognized rights to land.

I noted earlier that, in my opinion, it is in the way that land is owned that Labrador is so very different from Scotland.

In the opinion of our government, the land in Labrador is virtually all Crown Land. The government does not consider that the people who live here own the land. They believe that it belongs to the Government of Newfoundland.

The relatively simple expedient of acquiring the power of compulsory purchase is not open to local governments in Labrador. It will be necessary to negotiate directly with the government and we may safely assume that the government will require a great deal of persuasion. The alternative to compulsory purchase, where it can be applied, is land claims.

The organizations which have been set up in Labrador to deal with these questions, the Inuit Association, the Naskaupi Montagnais Innu Association, the Labrador Resources Advisory Council and the Combined Councils Assembly, are clearly being listened to by many Labradorians, the media and the Government.

Knowing that what Labradorians have to say is being heard elsewhere more than before should not disguise the need to find ways of acquiring real local control, guaranteed by Acts of Parliament. The weakness of advisory bodies is that all they can do is advise and recommend. Government does not have to accept the recommendations or follow advice. It doesn't even have to listen to them.

It seems to me that there have been good examples in the past few years of just how powerless Labradorians are when Government and industry decide to launch a major development.

The Churchill Fall hydro developments seriously affected traditional Indian trapping grounds but consultation and compensation were never even considered by the Government of the day.

To-day, plans are going ahead rapidly for the establishment of uranium mines, national parks, a timber industry and an offshore oil industry. Perhaps more consultation is taking place nowadays but do people really have the power to say "no" to anything? I don't think so.

Every new development comes with the promise of jobs as if jobs makes anything worthwhile. Even where people are quite fully employed, as in Postville and Makkovik, the Brinex developments are justified locally by the promise of more jobs. Do the people of Makkovik and Postville really need them? Will the few jobs that may be made available during the life of the mines - which may last only a very few years - offset the effects on the environment and the effects of hundreds of outsiders living next door to these communities?

Offshore oil development will undoubtedly involve the use of the Coast for supply points and quite possibly for pipeline landfall. Perhaps one or more bays will be used as oil terminals. Already, places by Saglek are being used by Eastcan. Do we know what for? Do Labradorians have any control whatsoever over these events outside the immediate borders of their communities?





Labrador has already experienced huge influxes of outsiders in places such as Hopedale and Goose Bay. The bases eventually close down and what are Labradorians left with?

I do not believe that this pattern will ever change unless Labradorians or groups of Labradorians achieve actual power to say NO or to say YES - but on the conditions that they lay down.

There are going to be individuals who will stand to make their fortunes serving the needs of an offshore oil industry. Such people may welcome the developments and may well say that they speak for Labrador and its people. It is my opinion that it is necessary to keep a sharp eye out for such people and to make sure that they do not use what political influence they may have to further their own ends. I think it is always a good idea to ask oneself what a particular person may stand to gain personally by supporting a particular development. People must not be shy about demanding that people who speak on their behalf declare their own business and other interests.

When Labrador offshore wells start producing, any onshore developments related to oil will very likely mean that some Labrador businessmen will find themselves with as much business as they can handle. Oil company personnel will have to be fed and housed and will need access to various services. In my opinion, the people who will provide these services and make large sums of money doing so should be disqualified from speaking on policy issues for the majority of Labradorians who will not stand to gain financially.

### Conclusion

I have tried to give an account of L.I.A.'s visit to Scotland which will help those who read it to gain some knowledge of how another people, very different from Labradorians in most ways but sharing similar political institutions, have coped with massive development and even made it work for them and make them rich.

In drawing comparisons with Labrador, I have not wished to make the future and what needs to be done seem impossibly difficult, but rather to suggest that it is not impossible for Labrador to seek the powers it needs in order to shape its own destiny.

In view of the current talk about Labrador separatism, I would like to make it clear that this is not implied in any of my comments as being necessary or desirable. Neither am I saying that it is an undesirable objective. It is simply not an issue in this discussion. What I do believe is that the people of Labrador have a right to be themselves, Indians to be Indians, Inuit to be Inuit and Settlers to be Settlers. I believe that newcomers to Labrador should come on Labrador's terms and not to tell Labrador and Labradorians what to do. It seems to me that newcomers have more to learn than they have to teach.

Neither should my attitude be taken to be anti-development. What opinions there are in this report are my own. On the question of development, I subscribe to the policy of the Labrador Inuit Association which is that development is not necessarily undesirable but that it must be development which the people want. It must not be imposed on them.



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